

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 050908

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, ET, SO, CU, UR

SUBJECT: POLITICAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF HORN

REF: USNATO 1869

1. DURING FEB. 28 MEETING OF PERMREPS WITH SEC GEN LUNS  
CONCERNING HORN, YOU MAY DRAW ON FEB. 24 PRESS BRIEFING  
GIVEN BY DR. BRZEZINSKI (SEPTTEL) AND FOLLOWING INFORMATION.

2. WE ARE CONTINUING TO PLACE PRIMARY RELIANCE ON THE OA;'S  
NIGERIAN-LED EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT  
OF THE OGADEN CONFLICT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE  
DISCUSSED WITH NIGERIAN COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
GARBA THE BASIS FOR A POSSIBLE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESO-  
LUTION DESIGNED TO ENHANCE OAU'S MEDIATION ROLE. IT IS  
OUR VIEW THAT THE WESTERN POWERS SHOULD NOT INDEPENDENTLY  
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INITIATE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION BUT SHOULD COOPERATE  
WITH AFRICAN EFFORTS IN THAT CONTEXT. WE FEAR THAT ANY  
INITIATIVE FROM THE WEST WOULD BE SEEN AS INTRODUCING  
THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT INTO AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND AS UNDER-  
MINING THE OAU POSITION.

3. GARBA IS CURRENTLY IN THE MIDST OF INTENSIVE CON-

SULTATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA AS WELL AS MEMBERS OF THE OAU CONCILIATION GROUP. HE HAS TOLD US HE PREFERRED TO COMPLETE THESE CONSULTATIONS BEFORE CONSIDERING POSSIBLE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION.

4. IN HIS FEB. 21 MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY, SOVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN WAS NEGATIVE ON SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON THE HORN, STRESSING INSTEAD SOVIET SUPPORT FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT UNDER OAU AUSPICES. AS IN THE PAST, HOWEVER, SOVIET OPPOSITION HAS BEEN PHRASED LARGELY IN TERMS OF DOUBTING THE ADVISABILITY OR USEFULNESS OF SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION, GIVEN THE SOMALI AND ETHIOPIAN FAILURE TO ASK FOR A MEETING AND THE POTENTIAL FOR PROGRESS IN THE OAU INITIATIVE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ACTIVELY OPPOSE A COUNCIL MEETING IF THEY SAW THAT THE AFRICAN STATES WERE PREPARED TO SEE IT TAKE PLACE AND BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MANAGE THE DEBATE TO PREVENT CHINESE OR OTHER CRITICISM OF THE SOVIET ROLE IN THE HORN.

5. WE ARE CONTINUING TO PRESS SOMALIA'S FRIENDS TO URGE SIAD TO AGREE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE OGADEN AS PART OF A PROCESS LEADING TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE DIRECTLY ENCOURAGED THE SOMALIS TO MAKE SUCH A WITHDRAWAL IN DIPLOMATIC CONVERSATIONS AS WELL AS IN PUBLIC. WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SOMALIS THAT WE COULD NOT CONNSIDER IMP-CONFIDENTIAL

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LEMENTING OUR PREVIOUS AGREEMENT TO SUPPLY DEFENSIVE ARMS SO LONG AS SOMALI REGULAR FORCES WERE IN THE OGADEN.

6. THE SOMALIS ARE RESISTING OUR ARGUMENTS AND HAVE NOT YET SHOWN ANY WILLINGNESS TO WITHDRAW. THEY MIGHT, HOWEVER, BE INDUCED TO WITHDRAW IF THEY WERE TO RECEIVE ASSURANCES THAT THE PEOPLE LEFT BEHIND IN THE OGADEN WOULD BE PROTECTED AGAINST REPRISALS THROUGH THE INTRODUCTION OF A NEUTRAL OBSERVER FORCE. THIS WILL BE DIFFICULT TO SELL TO THE ETHIOPIANS.

7. WE ARE CAUTIOUSLY ENCOURAGED BY THE RESULTS OF THE AARON MISSION TO ETHIOPIA BOTH IN TERMS OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND IN A HORN CONTEXT. MENGISTU'S REPETITION OF HIS ASSURANCE THAT ETHIOPIA HAS NO INTENTION TO INVADE SOMALIA IS A GOOD SIGN. WHILE IT IS OF COURSE, NOT DEFINITIVE, PUBLIC REPETITION OF THIS ASSURANCE MAKES IT MORE DIFFICULT TO ABANDON. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT AN INVASION OF SOMALIA WOULD HAVE SERIOUS GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS. VANCE

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